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THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

SINDH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

N. M. BILLIMORIA

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

پاران ايم ايڇ پنهور انسٽيٽيوٽ آف سنڌ اسٽڊيز، ڄامشورو.

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SIND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Vol. VII
Part IV

October
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SIND HISTOIRCAL SOCIETY
KARACHI

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

Journal of the Sind Historical Society

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VOL. VII, PART 4, OCTOBER 1945.

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Sind Historical Society Essay Competition.

A sum of Rs. 1,000, one thousand, has been generously placed at the disposal of the Sind Historical Society to be awarded as prize money for the best essay on "Karachi—its Beginning, Growth, and Future." The Managing Committee of the Society has decided to divide this amount into two equal prizes of Rs. 500, five hundred each, one for the best essay on "Karachi, from the beginning of the City till the British Conquest of Sind," and another for a similar essay on "Karachi—After the British Conquest and the Future of the City." The Committee hereby invites essays on the above mentioned themes. Entries are to be submitted by the end of June 1946. Competitors desiring to acquaint themselves with the rules and conditions governing the competition will apply to:

MR. N. M. BILLIMORIA,
Marston Road, Karachi.

CONDITIONS.

1. The Essay written in English must be submitted to the undersigned so as to reach him not later than the end of June 1946.

2. Each Essay must cover atleast one hundred and fifty pages of foolscap, typed in double spacing on one side of the paper only.

3. The copyright of the Essay will vest in the Society.

4. Each Ms. which shall be bound in semi-stiff boards must bear the author's nom-de-plume on the cover page, but not his name and no attempt shall be made to disclose the identity of the writer. Each Essay must be accompanied with a sealed envelope, bearing the nom-de-plume of the author as superscription and containing the competitor's full name and address.

5. The decision of the Judges shall be final.

6. Though every care wil be taken of the manuscript no responsibility attaches to the Society in respect of it and writers are advised to keep duplicate copies of them.

Marston Road,
Karachi, 27-7-45.

N. M. BILLIMORIA.

THE SOHRAB KATRAK PRIZE OF Rs. 100.

The date for submission of the Sohrab Katrak Prize Essay on any subject relating to Sind has been extended to the 31st December 1945.

THE SIND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

URGENT CIRCULAR

The Indian History Congress has decided to publish a Bulletin of research work in Indian History, which is being carried out under the auspices of the various institutions and research societies. The members of the Society are, therefore, requested to send, at an early date, a list of subjects or subjects of their research (on which they are engaged at present) with a brief statement of the progress made. The information, then, will be duly conveyed to the Indian History Congress.

Marston Road,
Karachi, 1st June, 1945.

N. M. BILLIMORIA,
Vice-President, Sind Historical Society.

Dear Sir,

Allahabad, 20th July, 1945.

The Indian History Congress has been invited by the Annamalai University to hold its 8th Session at Annamalainagar in the last week of December 1945. Dr. Tara Chand, Professor, Allahabad University, has very kindly consented to preside and guide the deliberations of the Congress. It is expected that this Session will be as successful as the previous ones and will be worthy of the traditions of hospitality of the great South Indian University.

As in the past years the Congress has been divided into five sections, *viz.* Sec.I Ancient India upto 711 A.D.; Sec. II, 711 to 1206; Sec. III, 1206 to 1526; Sec. IV, 1526 to 1764 and Sec. V. 1764 to the present day. Each section will be devoted to the reading and discussion of original papers on historical subjects contributed by scholars who have made a special study of their particular period of Indian History. The following scholars have been elected to preside over the respective sections:—

Sec. II, Mr. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar, Madras University;
Sec. III, Dr. I. H. Qureshi, Delhi University;
Sec. IV, Dr. B. P. Saksena, Allahabad University; and
Sec. V, Dr. I. B. Banerji, Calcutta University.

Your association has offered its co-operation by nominating its representatives in the past years. It is earnestly hoped that it will further co-operate in making the Indian History Congress a success. I shall be extremely grateful if you could nominate your representatives to attend th next Session and communicate to me their names at an early date. The annual fee for the Members and Delegates is Rs. 10.

I further hope that your representatives will contribute papers on their special subject of study for the above sections. Papers must not exceed ten typed paged and should be accompanied with a summary of about two typed pages. Papers should embody either some original piece of research or a new interpretation of facts.

An early reply will deeply oblige.

Yours Sincerely,
BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
D. LITT.,
Joint Secretary,
Indian History Congress.

FATE OF IMAD-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD BIN QASIM. THE ARAB CONQUEROR OF SIND.

By S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (London)
Corresponding & Associate Member,
Indian Historical Records Commission.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on 30th January*, 1945.)

Introductory.—There are two conflicting and contradictory accounts of the facts and circumstances leading to the dismissal and death of Imad-ud-Din Muhammad bin Qasim, the Arab Conqueror of Sind. One of these accounts is based on the authority of the *Chachnamah*, which is relied upon by Mir Muhammad Ma'sum of Bhakkar in his *Tarikh-us-Sind* also called *Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi* after his name, and other subsequent writers. It is too frequently repeated by European writers and is very widely in vogue. The source of the other account, which is less current, is the *Futuh-ul-Buldan* of Ahmed *bin* Yahya *bin* Jabir-al-Biladuri. While the author of the *Chachnamah* and his followers hold the *Khalifa* walid bin Abdul Malik responsible for the unjust and unmerited dismissal and death of the hero of Sind, Biladuri and his followers throw the entire onus of the blame on his brother and successor, Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik, and attribute the perpetration of the tragedy to a different motive. Now these two accounts are so divergent and diametrically opposite that it is impossible to reconcile them. One of them must be wrong and it is for us to find out which is correct. In this paper I propose to examine both these accounts as critically and yet as briefly as possible with a view to ascertaining the truth. For the sake of clarity and convenience I shall first take up the relevant passages from the rival accounts seriatim, discuss their origin, antiquity and authenticity, criticise their contents, point out the probabilities and improbabilities of the rival stories and then sum up the whole case and express my own opinion at the end.

Story in the Chachnamah. The story, as it appears in the *Chachnamah*, is as follows:—

"Orders from the Capital to Muhammad bin Qasim."

(1) "The next day, when the King of the heavenly host showed his face to the world from behind the veil of night a dromedary rider with orders from the seat of government arrived. Muhammad, son of Ali Abu-l-Hasan Hamadani says, that when Rai Dahir was killed his two virgin daughters were seized in his palace, and Muhammad Kasim had sent them to Baghdad under the care of his negro slaves. The *Khalifa* of the time sent them into his *haram* to be taken care of for a few days till they were fit to be presented to him. Afte some time, the remembrance of them recurred to

1. The preceding day Imad-ud-Din Muhammad *bin* Qasim was exhorting his soldiers against Rai Har Chandar of Kanauj at Udhafar. (E. & D., Vol. 1, pp. 208-09).

the noble mind of the *Khalifa*, and he ordered them both to be brought before him at night. Walid Abdu-l-Malik told the interpreter to inquire from them which of them was the eldest, that he might retain her by him, and call the other sister at another time. The interpreter first asked their names. The eldest said, "My name is Suryadeo," and the youngest replied ,"my name is Parmaldeo." He called the eldest to him, and the youngest he sent back to be taken care of. When he had made the former sit down, and she uncovered her face, the *Khalifa* of the time looked at her, and was enamoured of her surpassing beauty and charms. Her powerful glances robbed his heart of patience. He laid his hand upon Suryadeo and drew her towards him. But Suryadeo stood up, and said, "long live the king! I am not worthy of the king's bed, because the just Commander Imadu-d-Din Muhammad Kasim kept us three days near himself before he sent us to the royal residence. Perhaps it is a custom among you; but such ignonimy should not be suffered by king. The *Khalifa* was overwhelmed with love, and the reins of patience had fallen from his hand. Through indignation he could not stop to scrutinise the matter. He asked for ink and paper, and commenced to write a letter with his own hand, commanding that at whatever place Muhammad Kassim had arrived, he should suffer himself to be sewed up in a hide and sent to the capital.

"Muhammad Kasim reaches Udhafar, and receives the order from the Khalifa's Capital.

"When Muhammad Kasim received the letter at Udhafar (2), he gave the order to his people and they sewed him up in a hide, put him in a chest, and sent him back. Muhammad Kasim thus delivered his soul to God. The officers who were appointed to the different places remained at their stations, while he was taken in the chest to the *Khalifa* of the time. The private chamberlain reported to walid Abdu-l-Malik, son of Marwan, that Muhammad Kasim Sakifi had been brought to the capital. The *Khalifa* asked whether he was alive or dead. It was replied, "May the *Khalifa's* life, prosperity and honour be prolonged to eternity. When the royal mandates were received in the city of Udhafar, Muhammad Kawm immediately, according to the orders, had himself sewed up in a raw hide, and after two days delivered his soul to God and went to eternal world. The authorities whom he had placed at different stations maintain the country in their possession, the *Khutba* continues to be read in the name of the *Khalifa*, and they use their best endeavours to establish their supremacy.

The Khalifa opens the Chest.

The *Khalifa* then opened the chest and called the girls into his presence. He had a green bunch of myrtle in his hand, and pointing with

2. Variants: اود هالپور - اوود هاير - اود هافر (Kilich Beg's Trans. of the *Chachnamah*, p. 192). Raverty identifies it with Udipur.,14 miles south of Alwana on the Ghaggar and he is followed by Haig in the Cambridge History of India, (iii), 7. Mir Masum converts it into Depalpur, but his authority on this point is negligible. The reading of the passage is uncertain and I have not been able to determine its exact situation.

it towards the face of the corpse, said, "See, my daughters, how my commands which are sent to my agents are observed and obeyed by all. When these my orders reached Kanauj(3), he sacrificed his precious life at my command.

The address of Janki, daughter of Dahir, to Khalifa Abdu-l-Malik, son of Marwan.

"Then the virtuous Janki (4) put off the veil from her face, placed her head on the ground, and said, "May the king live long, may his prosperity and glory increase for many years; and may he be adorned with perfect wisdom. It is proper that a king should test with the touchstone of reason and weigh in his mind whatever he hears from friend or foe, and when it is found to be true and indubitable, then orders compatible with justice should be given. By so doing he will not fall under the wrath of God, nor be condemned by the tongue of man. Your orders have been obeyed, but your gracious mind is wanting in reason and judgment. Muhammad Kasim respected our honour, and behaved like a brother or son to us, and he never touched us, your slaves, with a licentious hand. But he had killed the king of Hind and Sind, he had destroyed the dominion of our forefathers, and he had degraded us from the dignity of royalty to a state of slavery, therefore, to retaliate and revenge these injuries, we uttered a falsehood before the *Khalifa*, and our object has been fulfilled. Through this fabrication and deceit have we taken our revenge. Had the *Khalifa* not passed such peremptory orders; had he not lost his reason through the violence of his passion, and had he considered it proper to investigate the matter, he would not have subjected himself to this repentance and reproach; and had Muhammad Kassim, assisted by his wisdom, come to within one day's journey from this place, and then have himself put into a hide, he would have been liberated after inquiry, and not have died." The *Khalifa* was very sorry at this explanation, and from excess of regret he bit the back of his hand.

Janki again addresses the Khalifa.

Janki again opened her lips and looked at the *Khalifa*. She perceived that his anger was much excited, and she said, "The King has committed a very grievous mistake, for he ought not, on account of two slave girls, to have destroyed a person who had taken captive a hundred thousand modest women like us, who had brought down seventy chiefs who ruled over Hind and Sind from their thrones to their coffins; and who instead of temples had erected mosques, pulpits, and minarets.

3. The Kingdom of Kanauj, then ruled over by Har Rai Chandar with his capital at the famous city of the same name was so extensive according to the *Chachnamah, Tarikh-i-Masumi* and *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram* that it included a portion of the Punjab and touched the north-eastern boundary of the Kingdom of Sind then ruled over by Sahasi Rai. Imad-ud-Din Muhammad *bin* Qasim was making preparations for the conquest of the Kingdom when he received the fatal orders.

4. "This is a different name from that which she gave herself, when first asked." (E. & D. Vol. 1, p 210, f.n. 2).

If Muhammad Kasim had been guilty of any little neglect or impropriety, he ought not to have been destroyed on the mere word of a designing person. "The *Khalifa* ordered both the sisters to be enclosed between walls. From that time to this day the flags of Islam have been more and more exalted every day, and are still advancing."(5)

Antiquity of the Chachnamah.—Let us first consider the antiquiry of the work on which the above account is based. The *Chachnamah*, in which the romantic story first appears, is one of the earliest Arabic histories of Sind. It gives a fairly detailed account of Usurpation of the Brahman, Chach, after whose name the book is so called, and of the Arab Conquest of Sind. In its introduction as well as in its epilogue it is called *Fatehnamah i.e.* a book of conquests or a despatch announcing victory. In some books it is referred to as *Tarikh-i-Hind Sind* and is fairly quoted by later writers, as for example, by Mir Muhammad Ma'sum in his *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, by Nur-ul-Haq in his *Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh*, by Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad in his *Tabhqat-i-Akbari*, and by Abul Qasim Farishta in his *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, commonly called *Tarikh-i-Farishta*. In the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* it is mentioned as *Minhaj-ul-Masalik*. It is, as we have it, a translation of which the Arabic original is lost with little hope of recovery (6). Its antiquiry is evident from the following facts:—

(1) It was translated from the Arabic original by Muhammad Ali *bin* Hamid *bin* Abu Bakr Kufi in the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Qabaicha in the beginning of the seventh century after the *Hijrat*, and dedicated to *Sadr-i-Jahan Dastur-i-Sahib Qiran Ain ul-Malk Husain bin* Abi Bakr *bin* Muhammad al Ash'ari, the minister of Nasir-ud-Din Qaibaicha. (7).

(2) When in his search for material the translator named above reached Alor and Bhakkar he saw Maulana Qazi Ismail *bin* Muhammad *bin* Musa *bin* Taj *bin* Yaqub *bin* Taj *bin* Musa *bin* Muhammad *bin* Shaiban *bin* Usman Sakifi and obtained from him a book in Arabic, embodying an excellent account of the Arab Conquest of Sind, which, according to its owner, had descended to him from his ancestors who had been the participators in the events and advantages of the conquest.(8)

(3) Such important geographical places as Mansura, Maswahi, Manjaba-bari, Annari or al-Baiza, *etc.* which were subsequently noticed by al-Biladuri, Ibn Haukal and others, do not find place anywhere in the *Chachnamah*. This evidently shows that the original work was written before these places had come into existence. As Mansura was founded in the beginning of the *Kailafat* of al-Mansur, who ascended the throne

5. *Ibid*, pp. 209-211.

6. I am indebted to Sir Henry Elliot for the information embodied in this paragraph. (E. & D., Vol. 1, p. 131).

7. *Ibid*, pp. 131. He was at first the *Vizir* of Nasir-ud-Din Qabaicha and later served under Iltutmish as *Vizir* of Prince Rukn-ud-Din Firoz when the latter was appointed Governor of Badaon. (*Vide Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, 172-73 and 181-82, and E. & D. Vol. 1, pp. 325 and 330).

8. E. & D., Vol. 1, p. 132.

in 136 A.H. (—753 A.C.) we can safely conclude that the work must have been composed before that time, otherwise the author of the *Chachnamah* would not have left it un-noticed. (9)

(4) The book (*Chachnamah*) teems with references to Buddhists, Buddhist monks, and Buddhist temples and it becomes obvious to the reader that the bulk of the Sindian population consisted of Buddhists. As Buddhism lost its hold on India soon after the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, it is reasonable to say that the book was written not long after that conquest was completed.

(5) In the *Chachnamah* we come across Samanis, monks and a royal white elephant, which are conspicuous by their absence in the accounts of the later invasions of Sind by Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin. This again points to the antiquity of the work.

(6) Finally, some portions of the book are based on oral testimony received at second, third or even fourth hand from those who were participators in the transactions recorded. It is indeed unfortunate that Tabri(10), who wrote in the third century after the *Hijrat*, tracing all his traditions to eye or ear witnesses, had no knowledge of the *Chachnamah*, and this is perhaps the reason why his account of the Arab Conquest of Sind is so meagre."

Authenticity:—More important than the antiquity of the work is the authenticity of its contents from our point of view. This is amply evident from the close resemblance between the ancestory of Ismail, the owner of the original in Arabic, who himself participated in the events and advantages of the conquest and that of Muso *bin* Yaqub *bin* Tai *bin* Muhammad *bin* Shaiban *bin* Usman, the first Qazi of Alor appointed by the Conqueror, though in the latter case some important links are missing, perhaps deliberately omitted to avoid repetition, as is often done. In either case the ultimate ancestor is mentioned as 'Usman Sakifi, *i.e.* of the same tribe to which Imad-ud-Din Muhammad *bin* Qasim himself belonged. Again, there is an equally close resemblance between the title of the ancestor, Musa, and that of the descendant, Ismail. Musa, the first Qazi of Alor, was called *Sadr-i-Imam al Ajail al Alim Burhan-ul-Millat waud-Din* and the contemporary of the translator, *viz.* Ismail, was known as *Maulana Qazi al Imamal Ajail al Alim al Bari Kamal ul Millat waud Din*. It is indeed amazing that the translator does not take notice of this similarity of titles and the identity of ancestory brought out above. These, in my opinion, are enough, to establish the authenticity of the work beyond doubt. Furthermore, there is very little modern interpolation in it. The anachronisms that crop up here and there ought to be attributed to the author rather than to the translator. Elphinstone's

9. *Ibid*, p. 136.
10. His full name was Abu Jafar *bin* Jarir Yazid al Tabri.
11. E. & D., Vol. 1, p. 137.

opinion that 'it professes to be a translation,' which implies a doubt about its genuineness, is evidently wrong. It is denounced by Elliot who says, "An air of truth pervades the whole and though it reads more like a romance than a history, yet this is occasioned more by the intrinsic interest of the subject than by any fictions proceeding from the imagination of the author." (12). According to him, the only two stories which appear to be fictitious are the accusation of Jaisiya son of Dahir by Darohar's sister named Janki(13) and the retaliation of Raja Dahir's two virgin daughters (14). Other stories which have been regarded as equally fictitious are those relating to Dahir's marriage with his own sister, and the matrimonial entanglements of his father, Chach (15).

Probabilities of the story.—The antiquity and the authenticity of the work proved, it remains to test the correctness of the story of Imad-ud-Din Muhammad *bin* Qasim's dismissal and death as told in it. Though "novel," as Elliot calls it, there is nothing improbable in it were it not for some serious contradictions which it contains. The whim of the *Khalifa*, the motive of the virgin girls and the mode of inflicting punishment are all within the range of possibility, particularly when we consider the wails of women for wreaking vengeance, the unrestrained autocracy of the Ommayyades, their uncontrolled ambition to boss, their unswerving strictness in exacting obedience and their unfailing ingenuity in inventing novel modes of inflicting punishments. The objection that the sewing of a human being in a cow skin was a Tartar and not Arab mode of punishment does not carry weight because apart from the fact that we have an earlier instance of a similar punishment being inflicted in the annals of Arab history(16), the Ommayyades could and did actually hit upon worse and more appalling types of punishment(17).

Improbabilities.—Notwithstanding the apparent probabilities of the story, referred to above, there are a number of inherent discrepancies and contradictions which knock the bottom out of it. According to the *Chachnamah*, "Muhammad son of Ali Abul Hasan Hamadani says that when Rai Dahir was killed, his two virgin daughters were seized in his palace and Muhammad (*bin*) Qasim had sent them to Baghdad under the care of his negro slaves."(18) In the same account (*Chachnamah*) we

12. *Ibid*, pp. 134-35.

13. *Ibid*, p. 136.

14. The theme of this paper. See *Fatehnamah* (Daudpota), 56 *ff.*

15. *Ibid*, 29, 56A. As it was prognosticated that the husband of Dahir's sister would be the king of Hind and Sind, Dahir married his own sister. (E. & D., Vol. 1.)

16. The followers of the first Muawiya enclosed the body of Muhammad *bin* Abu Bakr, the Governor of Egypt, in the carcase of an ass or a horse and burnt both to ashes even before the Arab Conquest of Sind. E. & D, Vol. 1, p. 439; Tabari, 1V, 592, and *Ranzal-us-Safa ii*, 312.

17. Almost exactly similar treatment was meted out to Musa, the Governor of Spain by the same relentless *Khalifa*, Sulaiman. While Musa was lingering in misery and exile at Mecca the head of his son, who had been murdered at Cordova, was thrown down at his (father's) feet and the tyrant's messenger taunted him in the midst of his agony and despair. (Gibbon, Chap. LI. Also see an account of the Tragedy of Karbela in Tabari, Ibn-ul-Athir and Ibn-ul-Khaldun.) 18. See supra. p. 2.

read Muhammad *bin* Qasim exhorting his soldiers against Har Rai Chandar at Udhafar in these words:—"Today we have come to encounter this cursed infidel," (19) and a little further we read "The next day.. .a dromedary rider with orders from the seat of Government arrived."(20) This clearly shows that Muhammad *bin* Qasim received the *Khalifa's* orders after the conquest of Multan when he was contemplating the conquest of Kanauj. Now the author of the *Chachnamah* says that "the accursed Dahir was slain at the foot of Rawar at sunset on Thursday, the 10th of Ramzan, 93 A.H. (–712 A.D.)"(21) and we know for certain that Muhammad *bin* Qasim received the fatal orders at Udhafar in 96 A.H.(22). This undue delay in the infliction of punishment extending over several years during which many a letter was sent to and received from Hajjaj by Muhammad *bin* Qasim, is not accounted for. If, as alleged by Muhammad son of Abul Hasan Hamadani, Muhammad *bin* Qasim seized the daughters of Dahir after his death and sent them to the *Khalifa* they must have reached the Capital within two months at the most and if, as alleged, the *Khalifa* called them to his bed-chamber after 'some days' and learnt that Muhammad *bin* Qasim had defloured them both before sending them on to the Capital and passed the death sentence then and there, the orders must have reached the unfortunate victim within a few months at the most and not several years after the death of Dahir and his daughters' departure from Rawar(23), for we are told that when Muhammad *bin* Qasim conveyed the request of the people of Brahmanabad for the repair of the Budh Temple to Hajjaj he received a reply "after some days" and not after some months or years . This is enough story of its time-to rob the honoured charm and romance. Besides this there are a number of other points which militate against it: while dwelling upon the capture of Rawar, the author of the *Chachnamah* says that Muhammad *bin* Qasim

19. E. & D. Vol. 1, p. 208. 20. *Ibid*, p. 209. 21. *Iid*, page 170.

22. *See* supra. p. 2. It may be pointed out here that the chronology of the *Chachnamah* is hopelessly lawless and inconsistent. The 10th of Ramazan, 93 (—the 20th of June, 712 A.C.) was Monday, the same date of the year 92(—1-7-711) was Wednesday, and the same date of the *Ruyyat* year 92 (—2-7-711) was Thursday. The week day (Thursday) supplies the clue to the correct date— 10th of Ramzan, 92 A.H. Dahir is said to have been killed at the fort of Rawar on Thursday, the 10th of Ramzan 93, A.H. (*supra*). It then took Imad-ud-Din Muhammad *bin* Qasim some time to take Rawar and the conquest of Dhalila and Baghrur(two fortresses) also took him two months each. But we are told (E. & D. I, 177) that he laid siege to Brahmanabad in Rajab, 93 A.H. and that it fell some sixyears later on the last day of Zilhij, 93A.H. All this is evidently incorrect and inextricably involved. The only criterion or method of ascertaining the correct chronology is perhaps the application of the weekday test. (*See S.I.M.H.*, 93). It is also said that the young hero left Brahmanabad on Thursday, the 3rd of Muharram, 94 A.H. (*supra*). Now the 3rd of Muharram, 94 A.H. (—9-10-712) was Sunday and the 3rd of Muharram, 95 (*Ruyyat*) corresponded to the 28th of September, 713 which was Thursday. Again if the week day is correct, the correct year must be 95 A.H. Imad-ud-Din Muhammad was recalled from Sind and put to death after the death of Walid in Jamadi I, 96 A.H. and the 3rd of Muharram, 95 A.H. fits in fairly well, for it would leave him about eighteen months for subsequent operations against Alor (or Al-Daur or Al-ruz), Sikka and Multan. (*S.I.-M.H.*, 96) This would evidently increase the *interval* by one year and thus made room for more communications between him and the Central Authorities.

23. Rawar was founded by Chach (E. & D., 1, 154) at some distance from Brahmanabad. The passage at page 154 (*Ibid*) shows that it was in Middle Sind, but references at pp. 167, 170, 171 and 174 (*Ibid*) show that it was somewhere south of Brahmanabad and north of Nirun (Haidrabad). *See* S.I.-M.H., 87.

captured a large nnmber of prisoners and an enormous booty, which he sent to the *Khalifa* through his uncle, Hajjaj, along with Dahir's head(24). The same authority informs us that a daughter of Dahir's sister was among the prisoners and that the *Khalifa* felt enamoured of her when he saw her, but gave her away in marriage to Abdul ah *bin* Abbas who sought her hand(25). Why Muhammad *bin* Qasim sent Dahir's daughters direct to the *Khalifa*, if he really did so, and the rest of the prisoners to Hajjaj is not explained. Again, Muhammad *bin* Qasim was appointed Governor of Sind by Hajjaj and it was to Hajjaj that he was responsible for his acts. The correspondence that passed between the two testifies to this fact. Normally Muhammad *bin* Qasim should have sent the prisoners etc. to Hajjaj. In fact if he had not done so, he would have incurred the wrath of his 'ferocious' uncle. The author, moreover, does not say anything about the two daughters of Dahir in connection with the capture of Rawar, but reproduces the romantic story on the authority of Muhammad *bin* Abul Hasan at the end of his account. It is evident from this omission that he himself entertained serious doubts about the genuineness of the story, otherwise he would have put it at its proper place. Elsewhere in his account he says that after the conquest of Brahmanabad Dahir's wife and two maiden daughters were captured(26), but he does not give their names, age and other details. Supposing that this is an inadvertent omission, supposing also that the girls referred to here were the same who figure in the romantic story, Muhammad *bin* Qasim would have, even then, received the orders much earlier than he actually did, for an interval of at least three years intervened between the capture of Brahmanabad in 93 A.H. and the receipt of fatal orders in 96 A.H.(27). According to the author of the *Chachnamah*, Muhammad *bin* Qasim purchased Rani Ladi, wife of Raja Dahir, and contracted his *Nikah* with her(28). He was then in the prime of his life and would not have preferred her to the two virgin daughters of Dahir, if they had really fallen into his hands, for the *Khalifa* was entitled to nothing more than 1/5th of the spoils of war and he could easily marry one if not both the girls. It is said that the girls were first kept by the *Khalifa* in his *harem* for some days and when one night they were taken to his presence he fell in love with the elder sister when he saw her for the first time(29). It is a question whether the *Khalifa* did not see them when they were first taken to him and whether he did not see them thereafter for so many days during their stay in his *harem*. The daughters of a Raja, if nothing else, must have attracted his immediate attention if the tale told were true. Again, when they were taken to the bed-chamber of the *Khalifa*, the latter employed the services of an interpreter(30). Evidently he did not know their language and they did not know his. How, it may then be asked, did he follow the elder

24. E. & D., Vol. 1, pp 172-73.
25. *Ibid*, p. 173.
26. *Ibid*, p. 181.
27. E. & D., Vol. 1, p. 177.
28. E. & D., 1, pp. 181 and 192.
29. *Ibid*, p. 209.
30. *Ibid*.

sister when she addressed him three times in an insulting and taunting tone for considerable length of time? It is equally difficult to imagine how the *Khalifa* would enact the love scene depicted in the story in the presence of the interpreter even if the latter were a woman. Moreover, when the chest was opened in the presence of the girls the *Kahlifa* exclaimed, "See my daughters!"(31) What a funny epithet! Who is "Janki" referred to in the penultimate paragraph? The reference is obviously to the elder girl, but nowhere else is she so called. On the other hand, we are told in the same account that Janki was the sister of Darohar Rai of Kuraj(32), who, when her love was not reciprocated by Jaisiya son of Dahir, unsuccessfully plotted against his life(33). In the heading of the same paragraph the name of the *Khalifa* is given as Abdul Malik son of Marwan, who was dead, and not Walid son of Abdul Malik, the ruling *Khalifa*. The author says nothing as to what happened during the interval between the issue of the *Khalifa's* orders against Muhammad *bin* Qasim and the arrival of his dead body wrapped in a cow skin. Even if the story were accepted as correct, it is difficult to say why Muhammad *bin* Qasim did not try to save his life by disobeying the orders of the *Khalifa*. He was innocent and he knew it. Why did he not try to establish his innocence? He was the master of Sind and was extremely popular with the people of that place. He could, following the accepted usage of the time, defy the Central Authority and set up an independent kingdom. All these are serious flaws calculated to shake the story to its foundations. Finally, it is not supported by any contemporary historian of Arabia or Persia or Sind. We cannot, therefore, but call it a fabrication.

Story in the Tarikh-i Masumi.—I now turn to the story as narrated in the *Tarikh-i-Masumi*. The question of establishing the antiquity or authenticity of this book need not detain us because its chapter on the Arab Conquest of Sind is a professed abridgement of the *Chachnamah* (34). The story as told in it is as follows:—"At that time a letter came from the *Khalif* Walid, to this effect:—'After taking Alor, you sent to the capital, among the prisoners, two daughters of Raja Dahir, in charge of Muhammad, the son of Ali Tuhman Hamadani, accompanied by Abyssinian servants. One night the *Khalif* had the two girls brought into his *harem*, and he then gave them into the charge of the bed chamber attendants, with orders to pay them every attention, and present them when they had recovered from the fatigues of their journey. Two months afterwards the *Khalif* remembered these two Hindi slaves, and ordered them to be brought into his presence. An interpreter accordingly summoned them.

31. See *supra*, p.3.

32. In some MSS. it is written as Kiroj, (E. & D. 1, 189). It has been identified with Kira of Indian literature. According to the *Brihat Samaita*, it belongs to the north-east division of India. It is related that when Jaisiya learnt of the plot against him he left Kuraj (Kiraj) and "journeyed on till he arrived at Jallandhar." Two inscriptions recovered from Baijnath give it the name Kiragrama and refer to its rulers as vassels of the Lord of Jallandhar. The identity of name and its situation in close proximity to Jallandhar confirms the impression that Kiragrama (Baijnath) is the same as Kira, referred to by the Arabs as Kiraj or al-Kurij. (Majumdar:Arab Invasion of India, 59-60).

33. E. & D., Vol. 1, pp. 197-201. 34. *Ibid*, 213.

When their veils were thrown back, the *Khalif*, on seeing them, became distracted with admiration of their great beauty. He asked them their names; one said her name was Parmal-Devi, the other said her name was Suraj-Devi. The *Khalif* ordered the attendants to leave one of them there. She then rose and said: "I am not fit for the bed-chamber of the Khalif, because Muhammad *bin* Qasim dishonoured us both before he sent us to the *Khalif*, when the interpreter explained this, the fire of anger and jealousy was kindled in the *Khalif*, and he gave orders that as a punishment for this want of respect, Muhammad *bin* Qasim should be wrapped up in the raw hide of an ox, and be sent to the capital. To enforce this order, the *Khalif* wrote some words of menace in the margin of the letter in his own hand, 'wherever Muhammad *bin* Qasim may be, when this reaches him, he is to come to the capital and make no fail in obeying this order. Muhammad *bin* Qasim was at Udhapur (35), when the *Khalif*'s chamberlain brought this mandate. When he had read it, he directed the officer to carry the order into effect. He accordingly wrapped Muhammad *bin* Qasim in a raw hide. Three days afterwards the bird of life left his body and flew to heaven. The chamberlain put the body into a box, and carried it to the capital. When he arrived in Syria, he brought the box before the *Khalif* on a day of public audience. The *Khalif* enquired if Muhammad *bin* Qasim were alive? The chamberlain replied that he had been enclosed in a raw skin, and that he died three days afterwards. The *Khalif* then directed the box to be taken into the female apartments, and ordered that it should be opened there in his presence. He then called for the daughters of Raja Dahir, and said, "Come and see how supreme are my commands; behold, Muhammad *bin* Qasim!" They both came forward to look at him and recognised him, and, raising their hands, they blessed and praised the *Khalif*. They then said, "Kings of great justice should not proceed hastily in perilous matters, nor act precipitately upon the information of friends or enemies in the most important of all concerns." When the *Khalif* enquired what was the meaning of their address, they replied: "We raised this charge against Muhammad *bin* Qasim out of enmity to him, because he slew our father, and through him dominion and wealth have departed from our house; we have come as prisoners into a foreign land; the king in his anger did not weigh our words, nor distinguish between our truth and our falsehood, but issued his fatal order. The truth is, this man was to us as a father, or a brother; his hands never touched the skirts of our purity; our object was to revenge our father, and so we made this accusation. Our wishes have been fulfilled, but there has been a serious failure in the king's justice." When the *Khalif* heard this, he was overwhelmed with remorse for a whole hour; but the fire of anger then burst from the furnace of his bosom, and he gave orders for the two girls to be tied to the tails of horses, and, after being dragged round the city, to be thrown into the Tigris (Dajla). Muhammad *bin* Qasim was buried at Damascus. Two years after his death the people of India rebelled, and threw off their yoke, and only from Debalpur to the salt sea remained under the dominions of the *Khalif*."(36)

35. *Vide Ibid*, p. 210 where it is written as Udhafar. 36. E. & D., Vol. I. pp. 237-38.

Criticism of the passage.—A perusal of the above passage side by side with the passage in the *Chachnamah* shows that the main theme of the story is the same. Both the accounts held the *Khalifa* Walid *bin* Abdul Malik responsible for the dismissal and death of Muhammad *bin* Qasim; both repeat the allegations of the girls; both accuse the *Khalif* of his failure to find out the truth; both depict him as a man of low morals; both say that the girls resorted to that ruse to bring about the death of Muhammad *bin* Qasim and thus to avenge the ruination of their family; both agree in saying that the hero of Sind suffered himself to be sewn in a cow skin in blind obedience to the orders of the *Khalifa* and accuse him of lack of commonsense; and both state that he received the fatal orders at Udhafar. But the details are quite different and full of discrepancies. As already remarked, the story in the *Tarikh-i-Masumi* is based on that given in the *Chachnamah* and the author of the former work has tried to remove the defects of the latter. This accounts for the discrepancies and difference of details. In the *Chachnamah* it is mentioned that the girls were sent to the Capital after the death of their father (Dahir) and the capture of Rawar, but Mir Ma'sum says that they were sent after the conquest of Alor. While the author of the older work informs us that the girls were sent to the *Khalifa* under the care of some Abyssinian servants, that of the latter work gives the name (Muhammad) of the officer in whose custody they were sent to the capital. While the former says that the *Khalifa* saw the girls 'a few days' after they had been sent to his *harem*, the latter says that he saw them 'two months' after that. Both the writers depict the *Khalifa* as devoid of Islamic morality and justice, but Mir Ma'sum is more careful and paints him in less lurid colours. According to the *Chachnamah*, the *Khalifa* wrote the orders against Muhammad *bin* Qasim with his own hand, but Mir Ma'sum says that he wrote some words of menace in the margin of the letter in his own hand.' As regards the punishment inflicted on the girls for their treachery, the author of the *Chachnamah* says that they were enclosed between the walls and that of the *Tarikh-i-Masumi* says that they were tied to the tails of horses, and, after being dragged round the city, thrown into the Tigris.' What is the source of Mir Muhammad Ma'sum in these divergent details, we are not informed. Evidently, the story told in his book too cannot be relied upon. It is, in fact, more open to question than its parent source.

Let us now turn to the rival account which is given in the *Futuh-ul-Buldan*. It reads as follows:—

Story told in the Futuhal-Baldan.—"Meanwhile, Walid, son of Abdul Malik, died, and was succeeded by (his brother) Sulaiman, who appointed Salih, son of 'Abdur-Rahman, to collect the tribute of 'Irak. Yazid, son of Abu Kabasha-as-Sakasiki, was made governor of Sind, and Muhammad, son of Kasim, was sent back a prisoner with Muawiya, son of Muhallab. The people of Hind wept for Muhammad and preserved his likeness at Kiraj. He was imprisoned by Salih at Waist. Salih put him to torture, together with other persons of the family of Abu Ukail, until they expired: for Hajjaj (Muhammad's cousin) had put to death Adam, Salih's brother, who professed the creed of the Kharjis."(37).

37. *Ibid*, 124.

Antiquity of the Futuh-ul-Buldan.—A few words must at first be said about the antiquity as well as authenticity of the book—*Futuh-ul-Buldan*—in which the above passage appears. It is admittedly one of the earliest Arabic histories that have come down to us. Its author, Ahmad *bin* Yahya *bin* Jabir surnamed Abu Jafar and Abul Hasan and popularly known as Biladuri on account of his addiction to *Biladar*, an intoxicating electuary, lived in the middle of the 9th century of the Christian era. He died in 279 A.H. (—892-93 A.C.)., leaving behind a large as well as a small edition of the *Futuh-ul-Buldan*. The celebrated historian, Tabri, omits much that our author has recorded. Evidently he was his predecessor. He seems to have been a close contemporary of the author of the *Chachnamah*, though there is no evidence to show that either knew the other. Biladuri brings down the history of events to the end of the reign of Al-Mu'ta'assam Billah (227—842). Wakidi, who has drawn upon him, wrote a "*Book of Conquests*" and among them was a Conquest of Sind, which Dr. Sprenger says he has seen quoted by Nuwai at folio 103 of the large copy of Leyden. Copies of his other *Futuh* or "conquests" are very common, but his "Conquest of Sind" or *Futuh-u-Sind* is extremely rare. Al-Hussain *bin* Yazid as Sirafi is another author of Indian history quoted by Nuwai at folio 795. We also find some other writers on Sindian invasions quoted as existing at the early period of the Arabian conquests.(38)

Authenticity.—The authenticity of the book (*Futuh-ul-Buldan*) is also equally undoubted. Biladuri does not appear to have seen Sind personally, yet his account is based on the information received from other reliable authors whom he frequently quotes. He had "verbal communications" with Abul Hasan Ali *bin* Muhammad *al* Madaini who left behind *Al-Mughazi waus Siyar* or "Wars and Marches" as a monument to his memory. The book contains an account of Muslim expeditions against Khurasan and the Indus. Mansur *bin* Hatim is another author of Sindian history with whom Biladuri had personal intercourse. He also quotes Ibu-ul-Kalbi as authority. He wrote and translated many books and was a good poet. He is frequently cited by Ibn-Naukal, Al-Masudi and other ancient geographers but his historical work is not so frequently quoted. Kudama, who wrote at Baghdad about the end of the 3rd century A.H. gives an extract from it and *Allama* Ibn-ul-Afir draws upon it under the years 89 and 95 A.H.

Criticism.—The story as told in the *Futuh-ul-Buldan* is quite simple and shorn of all romantic element which dominates the rival account in the *Chachnamah* and the *Tarikh-i-Ma'sum*. I have no adverse criticism to make against it. There is ample evidence to show that Hajjaj, the uncle of Muhammad *bin* Qasim, had espoused the cause of Walid's son against his brother, Sulaiman and executed and imprisoned a large number of persons and thus excited hostilities against himself everywhere. When, therefore, Sulaiman succeeded in winning the *Khilafat* in 96 A.H. (—718 A.C.) he wreaked vengeance on all those who had opposed his

38. *Ibid*, pp.113-115

father's covenent, according to which he had to succeed his brother, Walid, and their relatives and friends. But for the fact that Hajjaj had died six months prior to Sulaiman's succession(39), his fate too would have been sealed. His friends and relatives had to pay a heavy price for his policy of persecution. The new *Khalifa's* hand fell heavily on them and the enemies of Hajjaj, now set at liberty by the new *Khalifa*, had their day. Muhammad *bin* Qasim was recalled from Sind and brought back as a captive by Muawiya and his place was taken by a favourite of the ruling *Khalifa*. Salih, the newly appointed Governor of Iraq who bore bitter enmity to Hajjaj because the latter had executed the former's brother Adam on a charge of heresay, shut him in a prison at Wasit and tortured him to death along with all the surviving members of his family to avenge the execution of Adam(40).

Conclusion.—The above account is confirmed by all the contemporary historians(41). It is free from contradictions and conflicting statements and hence appeals to reason more than the rival account. The rise of Sulaiman synchronised with the sad end of Muhammad *bin* Qasim (42) and hence it confirms the conviction about the correctness of the account given in the *Futuh-ul-Buldan*.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

40. *Vide* E. ffi D., Vol. 1, p. 124, and *Rauzat-us-Sfa*, 111,*a* 106.

41. *Tarikh-i-Tabri* (Persian), iv., 697 and *Rauzat-us-Safa*, iii, 105.

42. *Tarikh-i-Tabri* (Persian), iv, 696.

Editor's Note.—For Rewar, see Prof. Hodiwala's studies in Indo-muslim History, page 87.

COINS OF THE SULTANS OF DELHI, Minted at SAHAT-I-SIND and SHERGADH (BAKKAR).

By N. M. Billimoria.

As anything referring to Sind is valuable, I subjoin the present notes, assisted by my learned and valued friend Mr. Sobhraj Nirmaldas.

I came across a valuable publication, "The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi" by Nelson Wright, F.R.N.S., I.C.S., from which I copy whatever relates to Sind.

There are six Dynasties of the Sultans of Delhi; 1, Turks; 2, Khaljis; 3, Taghluqs; 4, Sayyids; 5, Lodis; 6, Suris.

A characteristic feature of the pre-Suri coinage is the extensive use of *billion*—an alloy of silver and bronze. The employment of mixed metal in the currency was traditional in India. I quote the following passage from Kautilya's Arthasastra of the fourth century A.D. in which the use of alloy in silver coins is definitely required:

> "The Superintendent of the Mint shall carry on the manufacture of silver coins (rupys rupa) made up of four parts of copper and 1/16th part (masha) of any one of the metals tikshna, trapu, sisa, and anjana."

When the Muhammadan conquerors came to India they found a local coinage consisting, apart from the gold issues, almost entirely of mixed metal pieces, and the practice was incorporated by them in their own currency, notably in the time of the Tughluqs. It was extended by successive Sultans.

Out of the Tughluqs, only Firuz III., A.H. 752, A.D. 1351, had his coins minted at Sahat-i-Sind. It may be stated that the word Sahat means a court, the inner part of a building, a shore, a coast, a tract of country. The expression Sahat-i-Sind signifies the plain or territory of Sind.

Special attention may be drawn to coins Nos. 690-690A (described below) struck in the territory of Sind. (ساحت سند) These are the only coins of Firuz Tughluq, if we except the issues of Fath Khan, when associated with him, that bears a mint name other than Delhi. Firuz made two expeditions to Sind.

In any collection of the coins of the Sultans of Delhi it will be found that the coins of the Suri dynasty predominate in numbers.

B 690
B 691
B 698

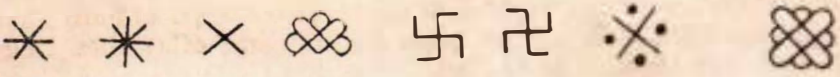
Æ 1050
Æ 1052

Æ 1282

Æ 1434 F

Æ 1295
Æ 1300

MINT MARKS.


4
15
14
31
43
60
80

Of the Suri dynasty, 1, Sher Shah, A.H. 945, A.D. 1538; 2, Islam Shah, A.H. 952, A.D. 1545, and 3, Muhammad Adil, A.H. 952, A.D. 1552 had their coins minted at Shergadh urf Bakkar.

Sher Shah's rupees are known of the following mint-towns:— Ujjain Agrah, Panduah, Chunar, Ranthambhor, Satgaon, Sharifabad, Shergarh, Shergadh alias Bakkar, Shergarh alias Delhi, Fathabad, Kalpi, Gwalior, and Maloti in addition to three which cannot be considered certain readings, viz. Bhanpur, Hazrat, Rasulpur, alias Patna and Qil'a Tanda.

Panduah was situated in what is now the Malda district of Bengal, about 20 miles from Gaur. Tanda was also in the immediate neighbourhood of Gaur and was "the capital of Bengal after the decadence of Gaur." Sher Shah was crowned in Gaur.

With the accession of Muhammad 'Adil commenced a rapid decline of the Sur fortunes and this is to some extent reflected in the coins. The number of mint-names found on the silver coins falls to nine, one being new to his reign—Jhusi in the Allahabad district—and the five copper mints recorded indicate still more clearly the narrowed boundaries of the Sultan's dominions. The mint of Shergadh Bakhar, which could not have been long under Muhammad 'Adil's control is also known from a single coin, No. 1434F, described below.

TUGHLUQS FIRUZ III. Weights are recorded in grains Troy.

No.	Mint Date.	Obverse.	Reverse.
B 690	Sahat-i-Sind.	الخليفه امير المومنين خلدت خلافته Weight:141 Size of coin ·75	شاهه فيروز السلطاني ضربت بساحت سند
	,,	,,	
690A		but in circle weight 141 Ref. H. R. N.	,, but mint mark 31 over شاه
691 693		In circle خليفه ابو الفتح Weight 82.5 Size .6	In circle فيروز سلطانى
694* 696		In six-foil احمد العباس ابو Weight 54.7; 55.2 size: .6; .55	The لي cuts across لطا In six foil شاه فيروز سلطاني
697	?	,, but العبا in second line weight: 50 size .5	The لي cuts across لطا ,,
698	?	As on 694 but mint mark 98 to left of ابو weight:53.7 size .55	,,

*British Museum has a specimen with the obverse in a double circle.

H.R.N. Cabinet of H.R. Nevill, Esq., I.C.S., retd. now in the Delhi Museum.

No.	Mint Date.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1049*	SURIS. SHER SHAH. Silver SHERGADH Bakkar 950	In square the Kalima Margins Bottom ابا بكر صدیق Left عمر الخطاب Top عثمان العفان Right علي المرتضي Weight:177.7 size 1.1	In square ن ه السلطا شا شیر خلد الله ملکه (In Nagri) શ્રી સેરસાહ mint:mark 4 over Margins Left فرید الدنیا و Top الدین ابو المظفر Right ضرب شیر گڑه Bottom.عرف سنه بکر ۹۵۰
1050	951 ,,	,, Weight 176 size 1.1	As in 1049 but ۹۵۱ and mint mark 15
1051	952 ;;	,, weight:166.3 (worn) size:1.1	,, but ۹۵۲

*Note to 1049. H.R.N. has a similar coin of ?949.

SURIS—ISLAM SHAH A.H. 952-960. A.D. 1545-1552.

GOLD.

No.	Mint:Date.	Obverse.	Reverse.
AN 1282*	Shergadh urf Bakkar 95?	In square, the Kalima Margins illegible. (Ringed) size, .95 Cf. Nos. 1295-1302 (Islam Shah)	In square شاه ابن ؟ ٩٥ اسلام شاه سلطان شير و خلد الله ملكه Mint mark 43 over خ margins illegible.
1282A	——— 957	The Kalima Weight 170.8 Ref. H. R. N.	شاه اسلام شاه سلطان شير خلد الله ملكه ٩٥٧
AR 1295	Shergadh Bakkar 952	SILVER In square, the Kalima Margins Bottom ابابكر صديق Left عمر الخطاب Top عثمان العفان Right علي المرتضي Weight 174.9 size 1.1	In square شاهه ابن اسلام شاهه سلطان شير خلد الله ملكه ٩٥٢ In Nagri શ્રી પસલમસાહ Mint mark 15 over Margins Left جلال الدولت Top و الدين ابوالمظفر Right ضرب شير گڑه Bottom عرف شق بكر

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

SURIS—ISLAM SHAH A.H. 952-960, A.D. 1545-1552.

GOLD.—*contd*

No.	Mint. Date.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1296	Shergadh 953	As on 1295 weight 177.7 size 1.1	As on 1295 but in top left corner of area and mint mark 60 over خ In Nagri સાહ
1297	,, 953	,, weight 174.5 size 1.21	As on 1296 but ٩٥٣ and mint mark 15 over خ
1298	,, 954	,, weight 174.7 size 1.08	,, but ٩٣۴ (sic) and mint mark 43 over خ
1299	,, 955	,, weight 173.2 size 1.1	,, but ٩٣٣ (sic) and mint mark 43 over خ mint mark 14 under الله
1300	,, 959	,, weight 177. size 1.1	As on 1295 but ٩٥٩ and mint mark 16 over ح and m.m. 14 under الله
1301	,, 960	,, weight 178 size 1.07	As on 1300 but ٩٢٠ (sic)
1302	,, 962	,, weight 177.7 size 1.02	,, but ٩٢٢ (sic) No mint mark 14 under الله

Dates observed, 952, 953, 954, 955, 958 (Cabinet of H.R.Nevill, Esq. as on 1300) 959, 960, 962.

SURIS.

MUHAMMAD 'ADIL SHAH. A.H. 960-964. A.D. 1552-1556.

No.	Mint Date.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1434F	Shergadh (Bakkar)	In square, the Kalima Margins Bottom ابا بکر صدیق Left ..... عمر weight 177.6 શ્રી મહમદશાહ size 1.1. In Nagri	In square شاه سلطان محمد خلد الله ملکه Mint mark 80 over س of سلطان margins right گڑه bottom. درب شق بکر

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SIND CASTES IN CUTCH, KATHIAWAR AND GUJERAT.

(By B. D. Mirchandani, I. C. S.)

Purhaps no other part of India has preserved the caste system so rigidly as Cutch, Kathiawar and Gujerat. The number of castes who neither eat together nor intermarry in Gujerat alone is more than 300. If all the sub-divisions which may eat together but which do not marry were added the number would be still larger. "This minuteness of division may be assigned to various causes. Besides new castes formed by new settlements, one leading influence is the reception of non-Hindu foreigners and aboriginal tribes into the Brahminical fold. When a new community accepts Brahminism it is not absorbed into any section of the older community, but forms itself into a separate caste and sometimes into several castes, the separating element being its calling or trade. These castes after a time cease intercourse with each other." Immigration is also a large factor in caste-making. A steady stream has long flowed into Cutch, Kathiawar and Gujerat from northern India, Marwar, Sind and also other parts of India. My object in this paper is to enumerate and describe some of the castes that have found their way there from Sind.

Of the many casts of Brahmins only Sarasvats, who are found also in Sind, appear to have migrated there from Punjab by way of Sind. Sarasvats take their name from the "lost" Sarasvati river and abound in the Punjab where they hold the first place among Brahmins. Their family deity is Sarasvati, the chief place of whose worship is in the Punjab. They seem to have left the Punjab with their patrons, the Lohanas and Khatrise when the latter moved southwards.

Among the Rajputs, Jadejas, Chudasamas and Parmars are immigrants from Sind. According to Forbes' Ras Mala at some remote period some 2,000 Sodha Parmers went from Parkar during a famine and established themselves in Kathiawar. To the Mahi Kantha, where the Parmers still hold two Chiefships of Danta and Sudasna, they appear to have gone from Tatta, whence they were driven by the Mahomedans about 1050 A.D. The Cutch Parmars also belong to the Sodha sub-clan of the Parmars and appear to have come also from Sind. They are settled mostly in north Cutch and in some of the Rann Islands, and except a few cultivators are mostly herdsmen. Their chief connection with Cutch is through marriage of their daughters with the leading Jadeja and Musalman families. These Sodha women are of much ability and much personal beauty. The Jadejas are the leading Hindu representatives of the tribe of Samma Rajputs who ruled Sind and they appear to have migrated at several times between 11th and 14th centuries to avoid Sumra tyrany in Sind. To this caste belong the ruling families of Cutch and Navanagar, Gondal, Dhrol, Rajkot and Morvi in Kathiawar. The name Jadeja, according to their tradition, was taken by the Cutch branch of the Sammas sometime about

1350 A.D. when they called in as their chief Lakha, a son of Jam Jada of Tatta. Chudasamas are an off-shoot of the Samma tribe and appear to have established themselves in Cutch during the early 10th century from where they later pushed themselves into Kathiawar.

The Khatris, who are largely weavers, are settled chiefly in Surat and Ahmedabad and number over 50 thousands. They claim Brahma-Kshatri descent and went into Gujerat from Sind in the 16th and 17th centuries tempted by the strong European demand for their cloth. Cotton cloth was the chief article of export by the E. I. Company from Sind and Gujerat. It was in order to secure supplies of cotton cloth that the E. I. Company established its first factory at Tatta in 1635. The Sind origin of Khatris is confirmed by the great veneration in which they hold the temple of Devi at Hinglaj in Las Bela on the western borders of Sind.

The Kathis, who number about 3,000, are believed to have been wanderers in Central Asia, who were driven down to the delta of the Indus by the tide of Muhammadan invasion. They do not appear to have had any fixed habitation in Sind, though Colonel Walker relates that they established themselves in the desert between Sind and Cutch. In Forbes' Ras Mala it is stated that the Kathis were vassals of a Sumra king of Sind who getting annoyed with them ordered their expulsion from Sind. They are believed to have moved further southward into Kathiawar about 1400 A.D. According to Col. J. W. Watson, Kathis are the Khatti of the Assyrian inscriptions and Hittites of the Old Testament.

Sanghars, both Hindus and Mussulmans, number about 500 and are found in the coastal villages of the Gulf of Cutch and in a few towns of Navanagar State. They are believed to be Sind Rajputs who moved with Jadejas to Cutch. For several centuries the Sanghars were daring pirates on the north-west coast of India. It was not till the 19th century that their piratical activities were put down. In an earlier paper published in the Sind Historical Journal I gave a detailed account of the piratical activities of the Sanghars or Sanganians.

Lohanas are found in Cutch and Kathiawar. Originally Rathod Rajputs, they had been driven by the Mussulmans from the Punjab into Sind, and afterwards, about the 13th century, found their way to Cutch. Their family priests are Sarasvat Brahmins. According to one account Lohanas are said to take their name from Lohanpur or Lohakot in Multan. According to another account Lohanas were in Sind even before Mussulman times. Adgham, Governor of Brahmanabad under Chach, is described as a Lohana in the "Chachnama." Some of the Lohanas in Cutch have become Mussulmans of the Memon sect. There is a great deal of speculation among scholars as to the original home of the Lohanas. It is not improbable that they originally hail from Afghanistan.

Bhansalis found in Cutch and Kathiawad also appear to be immigrants from Sind. Their family priests are Sarasvats and their family goddess in Hinglajmata in Las Bela State in Baluchistan.

Bhatias are found mostly in Cutch and Kathiawar. Many of them have now moved to Bombay where they play a prominent part in the commercial life of the city. They claim to be Bhati Rajputs, who under the name of Bhattis or Bhatias are the ruling caste in Jesulmir, and who as Mussulman Bhatis are found in considerable numbers in south Punjab and Sind. In Sind they are best known as traders of Shikarpur. The Bhatias originally belong to the Punjab. At the time of Mahmud of Ghazni's expeditions there was a strong Bhatia kingdom at Bhatia or Bherah on the left bank of the Jhelum, and it was probably by the later Mussulman invaders that the Bhatias were driven south into the desert and Sind. Into Cutch and Kathiawar they appear to have moved by way of Sind.

SIND THE SATRAPY OF IRAN

By N. M. Billimoria.

[The word Satrap is found twice in the great inscription at Behistun. It is spelt "Khshatrapa." The derivation is undoubtedly Kshatram, crown or empire, and pa (Sanskrit पा Persian پاس or پان (=هان keeper, preserver.

The satraps are the great "upholders of the crown" and the provinces take their name of satrapy from them.

Behistun is situated on the western frontier of the ancient Media upon the road from Babylon to the southern Ecbatana, the great thoroughfare between the eastern and western provinces of ancient Persia. This inscription is engraved at a height of 200 feet from the base of the rock; it is trilingual: one transcript is in ancient Persian, one in Babylonian, and the other in Scythic or Tartar dialect. Sir H. Rawlinson gathers from the monument itself that it was executed in the 5th year of the reign of Darius, B.C. 516].

In the Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 10 of 1927, Dr. Jamshed N. Unwala, Ph.D., wrote a paper on "Two New Historical Documents of the Great Achaemenian King Darius Hystaspes (522-486 B.C.)."

The learned Doctor wrote that a few years ago a Persian discovered on his property in the vicinity of Hamadan two plates, one of gold and the other of silver. He sold them to a Jew, probably at its intrinsic metal value. Not knowing that plates had inscriptions engraved on them, the Jew cut them to pieces. A Sayyad, a dealer in antiquities, became aware of the inscriptions on the plates, and bought them from the Jew. The silver plates have eight pieces; he put the silver and gold pieces together and had them photographed. He sent two sets of photos to Dr. Said Khan Kurdistanu of Teheran, who sent one set to Dr. Cowley of Oxford; and he gave the other set of gold plate to Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Modi, Ph.D., who was at that time at Teheran.

Dr. Unwala took the loan of the Photo; it is 10½ by 14½ em., and has inscriptions in three languages—Ancient Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian languages in which the official records of the Achaemenian kings, Darius Hystaspes, and his successors, were chiselled on the rocks of Behistun, and Naqshe-Rustam, and on the gates and windows of the palaces at Persepolis, and on the bases of the columns of the Apadana of Artaxerxes II in Susa. The Ancient Persian and Babylonian inscriptions are engraved on eight lines each whereas the Elamite one on seven. The actual size of the silver plate is 18 by 19 c.m. The gold plate has the same inscription as the silver one.

The three languages were evidently made use of in order to render the inscription intelligible to the inhabitants of the main divisions of the Empire. Had it been engraved in one language only, there would have been great difficulty in deciphering it in after years.

This reminds me of the difficulty in reading the script of Mohenjo Daro. Unless we find the duplicate of this script in Sanskrit or Chinoy, we shall not be able to read and understand the Mohenjo Daro script. Pray do not think that my ascribing the Chinese language is an ideal guess. But Prof. Hevsey, who was the first to see the similarity of the script of Mohenjo Daro and that of the Easter Islands, writes in his French paper which I translated, "Prof. Shikroogoroff writes to me from Pekin 'as an experiment I have shown your characters, after explaining their origin, to the Chinese who are familiar with ancient Chinese writings; they recognised them as 'Chinese,' and they called them in Chinese; at least it is very curious and perhaps significant; I hope to show them to competent Chinese."

The learned Doctor states that these plates are important, apart from linguistic, from historical standpoint. They reveal to us three important facts which were unknown to us: (1) that the Achaemenians used to lay in the foundation of their palaces gold and silver plates with inscriptions like their predecessors, the Babylonians and Assyrians; (2) that Darius has built a palace at Ecbatana, modern Hamadan, after 518 B.C., and (3) that he conquered the Scythes of Transogdiana after B.C. 518, who are not mentioned in the inscriptions of Naqshe-Rustam, for which we know only that he had conquered the Amyrgish Scythes, the Scythes wearing pointed helmets, and the Scythes living on the other side of the sea, *i.e.* Bosphorus and the Black Sea.

The translation of the Ancient Persian text is as follows:—

"Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian. Says Darius, the King, this kingdom which I possess from the land of the Scythians (who live) beyond Sogdia, upto Nubia, (and) from India upto Sardes, Auramazda brought it forward to me, who is the greatest of the gods. May Auramazda protect me and my family as well."

Darius in his inscriptions appears as a fervent believer in the true religion of Zoroaster.

Ecbatana mentioned above, was the Treasure City of the Achaemenian kings, and was taken and plundered by Alexander the Great.

Dr. Unwala has kindly supplied to me in a private letter the following further particulars regarding these inscriptions: (1) Sir J. J. Modi was doubtful about the genuineness of the plates: (2) Prof E. Herzfeld, who has written a paper on the subject "A new inscription of Darius from

Hamadan," and which I will discuss more fully later on, had offered these plates to Paris for £2,000. (3) Mushir-ud-Daula bought both these plates at their face value for the Museum of Teheran, where it forms one of the proud exhibits. (4) In 1936 Dr. Kraefter discovered in north-west angle of the palace of Darius at Persepolis a big stone box with a stone lid, containing two gold and silver plates 30 by 40.2 c.m. thick, each weighing 2 Iranian maunds, that is 15 seers, and having the same trilingual inscription as that on the plates from Hamadan; with this there were four gold coins, two of Croesus of Lydia and two of Darius. Dr. Unwala has identified the gold coin as that of Mithridates II and it is genuine.

Prof. Herzfeld in Memoir No. 34 of the Archacological Survey of India describes the new inscription of Darius found at Hamadan. He translates as follows the gold and silver tablet, 7½ inches square, inscribed on one side only with a trilingual inscription; the text of the two tablets is identical:—

"Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of countries, the son of Vistaspa, the Achaemenid. (Thus) said the king: This (is) the empire that I possess from the Saka who are beyond Sugd as far as the Kush from the Hindu as far as Sparda, which Ahuramazda has granted unto me, is the greatest of gods. May Ahuramazda protect me and my house."

This inscription throws much light on the ancient history of India. But first let us see when the inscription was set up—that is, find the date of the inscription.

After the death of Cambyses in 521 B.C. Darius took over the Achaemenid empire. In his Behistun inscription he states that he restored order in one year—that is, the nine serious rebellions were crushed about the end of the year B.C. 520.

From this inscription we find the utmost limits of that empire; from north-east, the Saka or Scythia to south-west the Kush or Aethopia, and from south-east the Hindu or Sind to north-east, Sparda or the satrapy of Sardis (in Asia Minor).

This last point shows that the inscription must be older than the expedition against the Balkan and European Scyths that is, about 515 B.C. Hence we can assign the inscription between B.C. 520 and 515.

The rebellions were suppressed about B.C. 519, and the Behistun inscription must have been executed immediately after, about B.C. 519. In the Behistun inscription we find mention of two Indian nations, the Gandara and That gush but the Hindu, Sind, are missing. India was conquered after the Behistan inscription. The year 517 was passed by Darius in Egypt. Since the inscription we are dealing with, and the foundation

inscription of the terrace of Persepolis, both mention the Hindu (but not yet the European Scyths), and since Darius was occupied from 517 to 515, the conquest of Sind may be fixed to years 519 and 518. The conquest of Sind and the expedition to Egypt have close relation; for Darius tried to develop the commerce of the empire and sent an expedition down to Kabul and the Indus led by Admiral Skylax of Karyanda, who explored the Indian Ocean from the mouth of the Indus to Suez. He dug a canal from the Nile to Suez as the fragments of a hieroglyphic inscription found there show his ships sailed from the Nile through the Red Sea by Saba to Persia.

Among the sculptures on the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i-Rustam (a few miles from Persepolis, 486-5 B.C.) and at Persepolis three Indian nations are represented; their dress is only a loin cloth and a sort of turban on their heads, and their long sword hangs by a strap from their shoulders. They could not be inhabitants of Iran but they were inhabitants of the lowlands of India. We know where the Gandara lived, valley of the Kabul river to its junction with the Indus as well as the Swat region and the country round Taxila. The Hindus are the people of Sind, Indian-S corresponding to Persian-H. There remain the Thatagush, Old Persian, Thatagus, in Babylonian, Sattagu, in Elam, Sottakus. Herodotus mentions them Sattagydians (Vol. IV,p.174). The Sattagydians signify "having hundred heads of cattle." The Gandara country and Sind being occupied, the Satagush may be put between the two, in the Punjab. Sind is the new conquest of Darius, but Gandara and Satagush he inherited from the conquests of Cyrus the Great. The Punjab was Persian from the middle of the VIth century onward.

" The Sattagydians are a people entirely unknown to all the classical writers except Herodotus. Yet it is certain that in the time of Darius they were a nation of considerable importance. They are mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions wherever a list of the subject people is given; and we are further told that they were among the tribes which revolted from Darius in the earlier portion of his reign. Their exact situation can only be conjectured. Herodotus, by uniting them in the same satrapy with the Gandarians who dwelt in Cabool and on the Upper Indus shows that they may be sought towards the extreme east of the empire and Darius, by attaching them in all his lists to the Arachosians, leads us to the same conclusion. They probably were the chief inhabitants of the high tract extending from Cabool to Herat in one direction, and from Sirpool to the banks of the Helmand in another. The inscriptions even seem to extend them eastward to Margiana, or the district of Merv. They may perhaps be represented by Ptolemy's Paropamisadae,or occupants of the mountain-chain of Paropamisus, whom he places between Bactria and Arachosia. Their name is said to have signified 'the possessors of a hundred cows', an appellation sufficiently indicating the pastoral character of the country."

The number of tribes mentioned by Herodotus as inhabiting the seven eastern satrapies is twenty; among them the 19th is the Indian. The Indians included within the Empire of Darius were probably the inhabitants of the Punjab, together with those of the lower valley of the Indus—the country now known as "Scinde"†. It is impossible to fix their boundaries with exactness. They seem to have been enclosed upon the north by the Gandarians, on the west by the Pactyans, Arachosians and Gedrosians, on the east by the great Indian desert, and on the south by the sea. They were a warlike race in the time of Darius who forcibly brought them under the Persian way and they maintained the same character down to the invasion of Alexander who found in the native prince of these parts (Porus) and his men, the enemy whom he had most difficulty in conquering. There can be no doubt that they belonged to the true Arian or Sanskritic stock, to which alone the name of Indian (Hindoo) properly attaches.

The Orthokorybantii, Amyrgi and Parikanii formed a satrapy and an integral part of the empire. Where the satrapy was is revealed by the present discussed Hamadan inscription—it was para-Sugdam, *i.e.* Transiaxartina or modern Farghana.

The Orthocorybantes occupied the tract lying immediately south of Ecbatana (Hamadan). It is a position of great strength, very mountainous.

The Paricanians must have inhabited a region in close proximity to the Ethiopians of Asia, or in other words must have been included within the country now known as Baloochistan. They are the Arian as distinguished from the Cushite inhabitants of Baloochistan standing to these last as the Baloochees now stand to the Brahoos.

In the inscription engraved on the sepulchre of Darius at Nashq-i-Rustam, a few miles north of Persepolis, these people are called the Sacae Amyrgii. They may be located upon the lower Oxus in the region between the river and Caspian Sea (the modern Khanate of Khiva).

In the above-mentioned inscription the Asiatic Scythians under Persian rule are distinguished as" Saka Humavarga and Saka Tigrakhuda, the former designating the eastern Scythians on the confines of India; the latter those scattered through the empire who are known simply as "bowmen." According to Hellanicus the word "Amyrgian" was strictly a geographical title being the name of the plain in which these Scythians dwelt.

*To this word SCINDE, Sir George Rawlinson gives the following Note:

This is perhaps doubtful and is not expressed on the map of the Satrapies by Messrs. C. Muller which accompanies these Volumes; but my own convictions are in its favour. I think it follows from the descent of the Indus by Scylax and the *continued use* of the ocean and river as a line of communication with the eastern provinces. The stream could not have been safely used until the tribes which dwelt along the banks were subjugated.

†It ruled for about 60 years only.

The vast extent of lands from the mouth of the Danube, over southern Russia, the northern part of the Caspian of the Aral and the Jaxartes plain were inhabited by Saka. Prof. Herzfeld concludes his paper with the following: "And that is exactly the region where they were met with later on by Alexander the Great and where the first Chinese authorities refer to them as living about the middle of the second century B.C. shortly before they begin their wanderings, which brought the same Tigrakhuda and Humavarka from Fraghana down to the S.E. of the Iranian plateau. There, the modern name of the small province of Sistan, the Achaemenian Zrang, still conserving the old name Zrang officially in the Sassanian inscription of Persepolis, dated the year 48 of Shahpur II, *i.e.* 357 A.D., is but a remnant of a name of the large empire that the Saka founded, and which extended from Sistan as far as Malwa and close to the port of Bombay, the Sakastan of the Mathura Lion-capital inscription."

PEEPS INTO SINDH HISTORY PART I.

By Sobhraj Nirmaldas.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on 28th June*, 1945).

Before reading some portions of my matter on the subject of "Peeps into Sindh History," I would like to say a few words about my plan for the compilation of a popular history of Sindh:

A reliable and complete history of Sindh has yet to be written. Though here and there scattered accounts point to the historical importance of Sindh with an interesting detail of its varying boundaries since the Vedic Age, with relative particulars concerning the bordering countries, the historian will need a good deal of leisurely study and perseverance for the piecing together of the requisite material from amidst a large number of books etc., written in different languages including English, so as to be able to test his results, and consistently arrange them into concise and suitable chapters for the purposes of a reliable history. A more popular and perhaps less elaborate method is to divide the material into some chronological arrangement of convenient series or sections, dealing separately with the various aspects of history. For example: (1) origin of place names, (2) origin of castes and customs, (3) short sketches of warriors, saints and poets, (4) descriptive account (accompanied if possible by maps) discussing the various important changes in the course of the inconstant Indus, (5) important fairs and traditions connected with them, (6) antiquities, arts and industries, and (7) Folklore etc.

I shall now read some of my matter dealing mainly with the origin of placenames and mentioning briefly some of the high lights pertaining to each place.

ATOK (ATTOCK). The word in Sindhi means obstacle. In olden times it formed a boundary of Sindh. The name 'Atok' however appears to belong to comparatively modern times, and has been used for the upper part of the Sindhu (Indus) in contra-distinction to the name "Mehran" used for the lower part of the stream. In one place it is connected with an event in the Sikh warrior Raja Ranjitsingh's expedition to Kabul. It is related that when the Raja accompanied by a large army reached this place, he found the river in full flood and threatening mood. Owing to hostilities the Sikh hero was handicapped here for want of boats. In fear, the Raja's troops declined to ford the river. The lion spirited Raja who preferred death to retreat jumped in with the Sikh victory cry of "Wah Gurujee Fath", واهگرو جي فتح and cut his passage across the river as fit were on land." Instinctively the troops followed with the exception of some faint hearted soldiers, afraid of the strong current whom the river devoured in their cowardice. This miraculous victory over the

swo'len River God stimulated the imagination of the faith emboldened Raja and he exclaimed جسکي من مين اٹک ٻي وه هي اٹک رها "Jis ke man men atak hai vohi atak raha" *i.e.* obstacles overpower those whose mind perceives them.

According to another account the fort at Atok was built by Akbar in 1581 to protect his empire against the inroads of his brother Hakim Meerza, Governor of Kabul, and that he finding the river impassable named the fortress Atok (the tacle).

Taking the two accounts together, Akbar's "Atock" became Ranjit-singh's "Atok" only for the faint-hearted.

Alexander is said to have crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats at Ohind, about 16 miles above Atok.

According to the historian xenophon (b. 400 B.C.) the Indus at Atok formed the eastern boundary of the Iranian monarch Kaikhusro's Kingdom.

BHODESAR (in Thar and Parkar District). History shows that this place passed through various vicissitudes in different periods. In its latest shape, it is said to have been founded in A.D. 1543 by Rana Bodho (after whom it is called) brother of Raja Hasu, who founded in the same year the other important town of Pari Nagar. Bhodesar occupies a conspicuous place in the history of Thar and Parkar, about the time of the Arab conquest of Sindh. The oldest period in which the place flourished according to a manuscript account is 512 B.C. but what its name then was is "buried beneath the earth." In 1343 A.D. the Bania inhabitants left Bhodesar in consequence of some disgreement with Raja Khanjarjee and they went and settled in Nao Nagar. It was for a time the capital of Makwana Rajputs of Kesti. In the days of Parmar Khingar, the place is recorded to have been a great emporium, and during the Sumro rule, the Rana of Parkar had his headquarters here. On the destruction of Pari Nagar by the Delhi troops about 1226 A.D. the mercantile community came to Bhodesar, and from here they subsequently went and settled at Mandvi in Cutch, and at Jamnagar, about the year 1388. It is said that a number of Jain temples adorned the country about 4 miles northward from Nagar Parkar in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries.

A commemorative mosque was built here (with an inscription bearing his name) by the Moghul King, Muhammad Shah, who has already been mentioned in our reference to Thar and Parkar. Bhodesar enjoyed considerable fame and prosperity in the palmy period of Sodhos who are recorded to have settled in the country of Thar and Parkar in the eleventh Samvat. The Sodhos were original residents of Ujjain in Malwa, and were subsequently called "Parmar." It is said that for some reason they, under their leader Chahar Rao, left their country, and went to the country then

called "Shiv," where was born Sodho, after whom his descendants came to be called Sodhos, and that their descent is remotely connected with that ancient hero of many a thrilling memory, Raja Vikram ditya.

In old annals there is a mention of some stones on the banks of the once famous Bhodesar Tank (400 feet by 200 feet), and in its neighbourhood with knights in armour carved on them; and opposite one of the knights loomed the arm of the lady—outstretched in pathetic farewell—who joined his funeral pyre. These stones commemorated the adamantine faith of the "Sattee," women who cheerfully burnt themselves with the corpses of their husbands. It might here be remarked, that despite the baneful effects on the Hindu society resulting from the inhuman rigidity of the custom in the past, mercilessly attributed as a whole, to the so-called womanly devotion, the *real* Sattees adorn a permanent place in the annals of ancient India, and some of their awe-inspiring and faith-breathing accounts, possess the sacredness of scripture. Many a miracle connected with their all-absorbing faith stirred pious memories, and their superhuman sacrifice appears to have evoked the tribute of some pious Muslim thinkers and poets in their flights to the realm of love and devotion. The sweetest bard among them was Amir Khusrow of Delhi a contemporary of the celebrated Shirazi poet Shaikh Sa'di and of the Sindhi saint "Lal Shahbaz;" he says:—

اندران معرض كه خود را زنده سوزانند ز عشق
اي بسا مرد خدا كو كمتر از هندو زن است

Translated the above verse means:—

In the contingency or meeting place
where lovers burn themselves alive,
Verily many a man (*i.e.* seeker of God)
is inferior to (*i.e.* lacks the faith of)
The Hindu wife.

Amir Khusrow has also eulogized the Hindu wife's fidelity in the following verse:—

خسروا در عشقبازي كم ز هندو زن مباش
كو براي مرده سوزد زنده جان خويش را

O! Khusrow in the sport of love be not inferior to the Hindu wife who sacrifices her life for the sake of the corpse (of her husband).—

BHARTARI. In the Chachnamah are mentioned various old streams of the Indus, *e.g.* the Aral, Dadharwah, Kotak (or Kotal), Manjhal, Jalwati, and Bartari. Of these, only the first (Aral) is now in existence at Sehwan; none of the other named sites can be identified. The present Aral is a recent cut, said to be on the site of the old disused one, that was

silted up when the river seems to have changed its course. The name "Bartari" is however of some historical interest. Though the site itself now exists only nominally in a page of ancient history, it is not unlikely that the stream (Bartari) was called after Raja Bhartari, the brother of King Vikramaditya, who lived in the century before the Christian era, and whom we have mentioned in our reference to Sehwan. This stream was a branch of the Indus somewhere within the ancient far more extensive limits of Sehwan where that prince-ascetic Bhartari is recorded to have once resided. In his Rajasthan Col. Tod says "Bhartari is reported to have lived for a time at Sehwan on the Indus, and no doubt the fame of so great a devotee would be widespread in Sindh as it was in all Northern India."

BHITA. This is a place of sanctity (in Taluka Hala) cennected with the name of the renowned saint and poet of Sindh Shah Abdul Latif, who is also known as "Shah Bhitai."

The saint was born in 1688 A.D. and passed away in 1751 A.D. Among the verses inscribed on his tomb is the following line whose numerical value according to the "Abjad" system furnishes 1165 A.H. (1751 A.D.) as the year of his demise:—

گرد بدہ ھو عشق و جود لطیف میر

Rendered into English it means:—the existence of Mir (Shah) Latif became submerged in (the ocean of) love.

The word "Bhita" in Sindhi means a sand hill. The place is so called because of the abundance of sandhills round-about there.

BHAMBHOR. Now a shapeless mass of ruins about 5 miles to the south of Dabeji station in Taluka Mirpur Sakro. As the tides in the Indus are not felt more than 60 miles from the sea, Cunningham concludes that Alexander must have arrived as far as Bhambhor which is about fifty miles by water from the sea. According to Plutarch, Skilloustis was the name given to this place by Alexander, and Psiltoukis by others. Nearchus is said to have started on his memorable voyage from this place early in October before the monsoon had subsided. On his reaching the port now called Karachi, the great emporium of the trade of the Indus, he stayed there for 24 days and renewed his voyage as soon as the weather permitted.

The place was named after the Hindu Prince Bhambhorai, a contemporary of Dalurai, who lived in the period of Ummiyah's power in Sindh.

According to Tuhfatulkiram he lived about the end of the 10th century. According to Tahiri, Bhambhor situated on the Gharo a branch of the Indus, was a city of considerable note and very populous, and the tract known as Sakro was peopled from Bhambhor when the latter was

deserted on account of a change in the course of the Indus. The report on archaeology for the year ending 31st March, 1919, shows that some Buddhist stupas were found in this locality and at Landhi.

Though cruelly shattered by the vicissitudes of time, the place lives enshrined in the soul-stirring and self-searching sweet songs of Shah Abdul Latif and other poets for the sake of its immortal love-incarnate Sasui.

BHAGUDERO. This is a village on the Indus in Taluka Nawshahro Feroz; it is called after Bhagul, a girl, who it is said, had great faith in Mian Naseer Muhammad (buried in deh-Redhi taluka Kakar), great grand-son of Mian Adam Shah (buried at Sukkur), who had endeavoured to organise a rebellion against the Moghul Government but was routed and tortured to death. There is an interesting legend about the maiden (Bhagul).

It is said that on his return from Delhi where he had gone to plead his cause with the Moghuls, the above mentioned Kalhoro Chief, Mian Naseer Muhammad came across two mofussil girls in this locality, busy cutting vegetables. On his request for some vegetables, one of the two females, by name Bhagul, lifted her eyes, "saucers of faith and zeal "and modestly replied" I would reserve my share of the vegetables to lay at the feet of Mian Naseer Muhammad." This simple reply touched the Kalhoro's heart; he made himself known there and then, and Bhagul reverently laid her collection of carrots etc. at his feet. Naseer Muhammad's eyes filled with tears, and he prayed that the girl be turned into a boy. The story goes on, that the prayer was answered; Bhagul changed to male sex was called Bhagu, and continued to live as an ardent follower of the Kalhoro Chief. The latter presented Bhagu with a piece of land in the vicinity, and on it the happy believer turned to manhood, built a town, called to this day Bhagu dero.

DEBAL (DEVAL). It is also written "Dipalpur." The origin of this place is rather obscure. A legend connects it with a huge Hindu mandir called "Deval" (*c.f.* Devaliya or Devasthan, meaning a place of deity, *i.e.* a holy place), or a Rishi named Devala after whom is called "Deval Smriti" a work in Sanskrit believed to belong to Sindh. According to another legend it is named after Raja Debal, who is said to have ruled over the territory about three generations before Chach who held sway over Sindh with his headquarters at Alor (near Rohri),and in whose time occurred the Arab invasion (year 711 A.D.), under the command of that intrepid youth of twenty Muhammad bin Qasim, nephew and son-in-law of Hujjaj, the then Governor of Iraq.

It was then a very large and thickly populated city and the chief port of the Indus in the Delta, opposite the "Arman" forest. While merchandise and facilities of connection with the sea gave Debal an importance all its own, the place is also said to have been widely known on ac-

count of its huge mandir (temple), which commanded almost unanimous veneration of the then predominating Hindu, from the sea to Mulasthana (the other name for Multan), and the silken flag on whose circular dome "filled the faithful with awe and inspiration." This mandir is said to have been a proof of the skill and delicate taste of architects and artisans of those remote times, and it is said that its inside presented to the eye a combination of colours, at once beautiful and serene. The lustre of full sized jewel-bedecked engravings on its walls and the richly ornamented idols after all awakened the jealousy of "the living gods" *i.e.*, the valorous Arab.

Towards the end of Dahar's reign, the outer forms of idol worship had so far lost their original spiritual significance, nay, deteriorated, as to have really become a cloak for the 'pando' (the priest or temple-keeper) to carry on his nefarious designs, and feed the flames of his desire, although the credulous people thought the Pando to be "far above the region of sin and desire," as runs the saying سمرڻ کونهين دوش گسائين It is related that the Arab conquest of Debal brought forth from the concealed corridors of the temple about seven hundred damsels. The Arab commander is recorded to have tenaciously fought here for seven days, to capture the fortified town but in vain, till a Brahman astrologer informed him that the mystery of the valorous opposition of the other side hinged on the faith-inspiring flag over the dome, and that his victory depended on its demolition. A general assault was then made from every direction. The instruments of war then in use included "manjaneeq" mangonels or battering rams, and one of these especially belonging to the Khalifah of Baghdad called "Arusak" (the wee bride) which was placed at the disposal of Muhammad bin Qasim, and which required the force of five hundred men, to work its recipient and active portions, for discharging stones, broke into pieces the dome of the temple, and tore asunder the flag flying on it. The 'talisman' of the Debalese being thus demolished, the town and the fort fell into the possession of the Arab army.

In spite of the Arab devastation of Debal, it still continued to claim attention as an important port, till some time afterwards, changes in the river necessitated its total abandonment.

As to its situation, accounts vary. It was a large city, and it is stated, that its ruins extend over an area of about 20 miles south-west of Tatta. Some time before the Arab invasion, there were two capitals of Sindh, viz. Alor and Brahmanabad, and Debal was then the principal port.

According to Istakhri, it lay west of the river Indus. Abul-Qasim Ibn Haukal locates it in one place on the sea coast, on the eastern branch of the Indus, while in another place, he says the waters of the Indus fall into the sea to the east of Debal. Some chroniclers have identified it with Karachi, and according to Elliot, the temple of Debal was probably on

the promontary now occupied by Fort Manoro. Some accounts locate Tatta on the site, or in the vicinity of Debal.

According to Khulasat-al-Tawarikh written in 1107 Hijri corresponding to 1695 A.D. Debal was well known in the sixth century Hijri. The following extract from it points to its prominence in the said period:—

"سلطان خسرو ملک از نسل سلطان محمود غزنوي ..... مرتبه چهارم در سن ۵۷۷ (هجري) بر سر دیول که به تته مشهور است رفته تمام ولایت کمار در پاي سند بضبط در آورده اشناس و نواد در آن دیار باموال بسیار گرفته برگشت."

"Sultan Khusrow Malik a descendant of Sultan Mahmood of Ghazni raided Debal now known as Tatta for the fourth time, in 577 A.H., laid hold of the entire territory adjoining the Indus, and went back with a large booty consisting of many precious things and riches of that country."

General Haig has identified Debal with a ruin-covered site twenty miles south-west of Tatta, and about forty-five miles east-south-east of Karachi, while according to Richard F. Burton, Debal (Deval) and Tatta are the same places, and that is also the view of Ferishtah. Elphinstone says, Deval was probably somewhere near Karachi, the present seaport of Sindh, and that it could not be at Tatta "as supposed by Ferishtah." Mr. Aitken the Compiler of the Sindh Gazetteer, Volume A, supports the above-mentioned identification of Geneal Haig, and says that Debal was a port on the Indus.

The accounts relating to the situation of Debal in the eighth century A.D. thus vary greatly. Now the vagarious trend of the Indus, is a well-established fact, particularly in its relation to the deltaic tracts, not far from the sea. The following extract from the old Gazetteer of Sindh (year 1874) is significant in this connection:—"The Indus is believed formerly to have reached the sea through eleven large mouths, but.....a little more than eighty years ago, the river was divided into two great arms, the Baghiar and Sitah both of which were then open and navigable for vessels of a large size; but in 1837, when the Indus was surveyed, the former was found to be quite deserted by the river." And according to the same Gazetteer, the spring-tides rise on an average nine feet, and the influence of the tide on the Indus was felt nearly upto Tatta. Apart from what has been stated above regarding Tatta occupying the ancient site of Debal (Deval), we might mention that according to Burton's History published in 1851, by the garment "Shali Debali" which was then in use was meant "a shawl of Tatta manufactory." But it is difficult from these data to infer, that the modern Tatta covers the site of Debal. Tatta came into existence in the fourteenth century, while the Arab conquest of Debal occurred in the eighth century A.D. The old sites of Bhambhor and Laribandar (Lahribandar) would appear to indicate that the mouths of the

Indus extended much further west, Rahu on which stood Lahribandar being one of the important mouths of the river. It seems, the abandonment of Debal gave rise to Lahribandar, then Vikkur and then Ketibandar —all as far west as was necessitated by the river. It is therefore perhaps not wrong to generalise, that the chief port in the Delta lay invariably as far to the west, as the vagaries of the Indus permitted or necessitated, and accordingly the site of Debal may admit of identification with the site mentioned by General Haig, somewhere not far from the shrine of Pir Patho and near some great stream of the Indus of which there is no trace now. The Indus is known for many changes, and to take a comparatively recent instance, as shown above, one of its great arms called the Baghiar which was navigable for vessels of large size about a century and a half ago, was found to be completely dry in 1837 when the river was surveyed. It is also conceivable that Debal occupied, or lay somewhere near, the site of the ancient city of Bhambhore (between Vateji and Gharo now comprised in taluka Mirpur Sakro) near which flowed the Indus in the days of the celebrated sindhi heroine Sasui.

Subsequently however the prosperity that was the pride of the ancient towns of Debal, Bhambore, Lahribandar and Vikkur etc., came to be reflected in the town of Tatta which abounded in industries, and according to Pottinger, possessed forty thousand weavers, twenty thousand other artisans, and sixty thousand dealers in various departments, at the time of the Persian King Nadir Shah's entry into Tatta at the head of his army in 1742. To this day Tatta is noted for its Lungis, and some patterns of silken cloth etc., and it is highly probable that its skilled craftsmen in the hey day of its industrial glory produced exquisite shawls which bore laudable resemblance to the shawls, that in bygone ages, brought fame to the celebarted emporium of Debal, and thus the Shawls of Tatta became identified with "Shali Debali."

GARHI. Literally it means red. A local historian calls the place "Regi Surkh" (*i.e.* red sand). This was the second capital of Kalhoro Government founded by Mian Nasir Muhammad, (1696 A.D.) whose tomb lies about three miles to the southwest of the ruins (about 10 miles northwest of Kakar). The place is connected with the red sand hill about which the following story is from Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, a Persian history written in the 18th century:—

In olden times two pious and virtuous brothers lived at the place by agriculture. One of the brothers was single, and the other married. Once when they reaped their crops the single brother thinking that his brother's expenses were greater, owing to the burdens of a family, removed a large quantity of corn from his own heap, and added it unseen to his brother's heap. At the same time the married brother thinking that his brother was a pious man who did not care about worldly profits, added a portion of his share to his brother's. They went on doing this with the effect, that the heaps would not be exhausted in spite of their use of the corn, for their usual wants. The heaps which survived the brothers changed into a red sandhill.

PEEPS INTO SIND HISTORY PART II

By Sobhraj Nirmaldas.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on Friday, the 28th August,* 1945).

KALAN-KOTE. Is the locality of an old fort in the vicinity of Tatta founded by Jam Taghlaq. Popularly it is known as Kalan-Kote though the other name recorded for it is "Qilae Taghlaqabad."

According to the history of Sindh compiled by Mirza Kalichbeg, Taghlaqabad was built on the ruins of Samui which takes its name from Sammahs and which in its turn is said to have occupied the ancient site of Kalankot. The name Taghlaqabad however exists in a page of history only, while the older name Kalan-Kot continues to be current to this day.

The place is said originally to be the site of an ancient fort built by a Hindu Raja named Kala, but we have not come across anything to substantiate this version. Many years ago, an old resident of the tract characterised the version as highly improbable. His only argument was, that a fort of Hindu origin ought to have been known as "garh," rather than "kote," and in support, he cited the instances of Chitoregarh, Partapgarh, and Jhoonagarh. The argument is hardly tenable, for the use of the word "kote" is not foreign to the Hindu constructions, *e.g.* Chitrakote Amarkote, (Nerunkote) in fact the word "kote" is allied to the Sanskrit word "kutia" or "kuti," which means a cottage. In the absence of documentary evidence, the age of such ancient constructions is perhaps determinable only by a careful research on the part of archaeologists. Kalankote is now a mass of ruins rather difficult of access, but presumably it was a place of great importance in ancient times, since its steep sides were protected by a double line of brick walls. The site was visited in 1838 A.D. by Lutfullah whose autobiography published in 1857 contains the following particulars about it:—

> "The fortifications of this remarkable place appeared to be very strong and old. The materials are mortar and baked bricks which at this remote period of time seem quite new, and as strong as stone. In these heaps of ruins certain signs of antiquity such as old coins etc. are sometimes found by the inhabitants, and sold for a good price."

MAKLI. It is a vast necropolis, a city of silence, on a rocky high level about a couple of miles to the west of Tatta on the Tatta-Jungshahi road. It covers an area of approximately six square miles, and presents to the view a number of stately mausoleums, sarcophagi and picturesque arches, and columns, testifying to the skill and workmanship of the artisans and architects of the past. Many a holy and honoured man lies buried here. It is a common saying that Makli is the resting place of "sava lakha pira" (1¼ lakhs of pirs). At any rate there is no doubt

that Makli is an old and extensive site, holding the remains of many personages of spiritual and noble classes, such as, pirs, poets, scholars, nawabs and other dignitaries. In connection with its origin, it is said that a dervish on his way to Mecca, happened to arrive here. The magnetism that attracted him to this locality for a short halt, had a psychological effect. The dervish fell into an all-forgetting trance,and soon awoke to sing and dance in ecstacy, rapturously exclaming "Haza Makali, Haza Makali" (Here is Mecca for me). The people took up the cry, and gave the locality its current name of Makali or Makli.

Another story connects the locality with a pious lady of that name, buried behind the closet of the mosque at Makli. Under the directions of Shaikh Hamad Jamali a scholar and saint of great fame who lived in the days of Jams Juno and Tamachi in the 14th century A.D., the mosque was called after the name of that lady. The name soon extended to the entire area through frequent use of the mosque etc.

According to تذكرہ اولیاي سند biographical memoirs of some Sindhi Saints, the above-mentioned mosque was built by Jam Tamachi and named Makali as directed by his patron-saint Shaikh Hamad, a resident of the then prosperous town of Samoi near the Makli tract.

In Tuhfatulkiram, a Persian history of Sindh written in the 18th century, the Makli tract is described as a place "worth seeing especially in the rainy season, when springs are full of sweet water, and spontaneous growth of verdure richly adorns their banks on all sides affording ample evidence of the marvellous munificence of God."

MIRPUR BATHORO. This is recorded to have been founded by Mir Tharo Khan after the town of Hyderabad which was in a prosperous condition during the time of Kalhoro rule.

After the British conquest of Sindh, a municipality was established at Mirpur Bathoro in 1856 having an annual income ranging from 3000 to 6,000 Rupees. According to the census of 1872, its population was 2,846 souls of whom 1,540 were Musalmans and the rest Hindus. It served as a main line of communication between Kachh (Cutch) and Sindh.

Captain Delhoste halted at Mirpur Bathoro on 19th January, 1832, in the course of his journey from Mandvi to Hyderabad. The following extract from his account of the journey shows some curious ways of the beggars of that time, and the unpopularity of the *short-lived Talpur Government even at the hands of the people of their own tribe. On the whole the Talpur princes did not pull on well together, and the mischief-makers of whom there is no dearth in any age, took undue advantage of their weak administration and hastened their downfall.

*It ruled for about sixty years only.

"Beggars by hundreds came about us, many of them well-dressed and wearing shields and swords, and some of them were mounted on tatoos, entreating for charity. The most moderate of these fellows asked for 2 or 3 rupees; others requested 100 or 150, at the same time declaring that they would not go away until their demands were complied with. They generally asked for alms as if it were a matter of right, and usually if not attended to, abused us before going away.

A Balochee at Mirpur asked me if the Government would take him as their servant, and that if so, he would bring 500 men with him—a circumstance which does not say much in favour of the attachment of the Balochees, the most favoured class in Sindh, to their present rulers."

LARKANA. So called from the tribe of Larik which once formed the majority of population here. In the days of the Talpur Government, Larkana was the principal town of the parganah of Chandooka called after the tribe of Chandia—the traditional foe of the Magsi. Another important town in those days was Kambar about 12 miles west by north from Larkana; it was plundered by the Balochs in the latter part of 1844, and a great portion of it is said to have been destroyed by fire in the following year. Naushahro Abro also then formed a part of the Chandooka parganah which on account of its agricultural prosperity and climate was styled "the Garden of Upper Sindh." Its fame however cost it not a little, for the sword of Damascus and the "Karamati" (miraculous) club of the Kalhoro, had their full play on its plains. Mian Shahal Muhammad descended from that resourceful Kalhoro ancestor Adam Shah, is a martyr of this tract, having been slain at Fatehpur, a village about six miles from Larkana, in a skirmish with the viceregent of the Delhi Emperor. It is said that his head 'flew' till it alighted on the spot where he is now enshrined, and that his followers afterwards brought his body there. The old fort at Larkana was one of the arsenals of the Talpurs. Datah Kohawar renowned for his wealth and hospitality was the "Hatim Taee" of Chandooka. It is related, that his doors were always open to the poor. A pair of large mill stones in a garden on a bank of Datah canal, was a revered monument of Datah's celebrated liberality, a legend giving it the renown of a miracle. They say that a handful of grain thrown inside the stones, produced flour sufficient for all demands. Among the officers of the Talpur Government in this tract, conspicuous mention occurs of Wali Muhammad Laghari, the celebrated "Kardar" of Chandooka with his permanent residence at Larkana. He was a successful executive officer, withal, a man of parts and poetry. Its well laidout gardens and abundance of foliage and luscious fruits are said to have gained for Larkana the appellation of the "Eden of Sindh." With due deference to his experiences of "Eden," we think the writer's pen-picture was overdrawn. There is however no doubt that Larkana ranked among the few picturesque and beautiful places of that period, and the Sindhis would not grudge to grant that, in view of the popular rhythmic saying

هجيءِ نانو، گهم لاڙڪانو "Hujei nano, ghum Larkano,"(that is, if you have the means, go and enjoy the delights of Larkana).

In 1844 Richard F. Burton dubbed its inhabitants as "a dissolute race, fond of intoxication, dancing and other debauchery and idle, because the necessaries are so cheap that there is no need of working hard to live." To us, however, this seems a rather sweeping statement apparently prompted by the luxurious lives of some of the dignitaries of the State and wealthy merchants.

"Man-nautch" frolic and dance on the part of people of the male sex, was a pastime and a passion occasionally indulged in, by the well-to-do Sindhis of urban areas in the past, and it is graphically described by Burton as follows:—"Conceive if you can, the unholy spectacle of two reverend-looking grey-beards, with stern, severe, classical features, large limbs and serene, majestic deportment, dancing opposite each other, dressed in women's attire; the flimsiest too, with light veils, on their heads, and little bells jingling from their ankles, ogling, smirking, and displaying the juvenile playfulness of limmer lads and little lassies."

MUMAL'S MARI literally upper room or storey, (here MUMAL'S MANSION). Mumal is the well-known heroine of the popular romance Mumal—Rano. She was a daughter of a Hindu Prince named Raja Nand Gujar (a sub-caste of Rajput clan), who ruled at Mirpur Mathelo in the days of Hamir Sumro the last prince of the Sumro dynasty in Sindh about the end of the 14th century. Raja Nand had in all nine daughters. Mumal was the fairest of all, and the pet of her parents. Her name now possesses an adjectival significance—as Rustom for bravery so Mumal for beauty.

Mumal's mansion was situated near a lake of reddish water called Kak at Ludano a town of considerable fame, and the capital of Bhatti Rajputs in the 10th, 11th and the 12th centuries A.D., at a distance of about 10 miles, to the north-west of Jessulmer, and about 150 miles from Amerkot (Umerkot), the capital of Hamir Sumro mentioned above. Many a reckless lover lost his life and property, in the labyrinths of Mumal's peculiarly designed mansion, and the path leading to it, till Rano Mendhro (also called Sodho) a counsellor and brother-in-law of Hamir Sumro, eluding all her snares, succeeded in gaining access to Mumal, and the latter was overjoyed to find a suitable match for her in Rano Mendhro, who was both handsome and wise. The mutual love of Mendhro and Mumal was forthwith sealed with the sacrament of marriage, but the former's achievement proved gall and wormwood for his rival and Prince, Hamir Sumro, who would not let Rano rest on his laurels at Mumal's mansion.

It is said that nightly Rano went to see her darling Mumal, travelling all the distance from Amarkot to Mumal's Mari, on his favourite camel,

and returned to Amerkot the next morning. Such a feat is however impossible even allowing for a relay of camels at convenient intervals, on account of the great distance between Amarkot and Mumal's residence. It is however conceivable that Rano visited Mumal frequently, and faithfully adhered to the programme of his engagements with his expectant beloved Mumal. The story goes on, that one night something happened which caused the green-eyed monster to take possession of his mind, and he never went to Mumal's place again. She disguised herself as a trader, built a nice residence for herself, near Amarkot, and sought him out but he spurned her. Then she died of a broken heart and he, repenting too late, threw himself on her funeral pyre, and was burnt with her. Mumal's house near Amarkot is also known as "Mumal's Mari." About three centuries later in the year 1739 A.D., the fort at Amarkot was captured from Rano Kheraj, the then Sodho Chief, by Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhoro, and it was this Kalhoro ruler who constructed Nurwah a canal (since disused) near the aforesaid residence of Mumal.

MULTAN. This name is said to be a corruption of Malisthan a Hindi term meaning the abode of Mallis, an ancient tribe that resided here, and fought with Alexander the Great in 325 B.C. In some chronicles the name of the tribe is given as Malloi an independent Indian nation with their capital at Multan. In the remote past *i.e.* long before the time of Alexander, the modern Multan's predecessors, as far as is known, bore six other names successively including the ancient Hindu scriptural names of Harnakas Nagari, Narsinghapuri, and Prahladapuri. And subsequent to the advent of Islam too, obviously at some period of unorthodoxy, Multan seems to have been revered as a place of great sanctity. In his pamphlet entitled "Old sites on the Lower Indus," Mr. G. E. L. Carter, I.C.S. who visited the Thambhanwari masjid and some other places in taluka Mirpur Sakro, in the year 1916, says: "It is a common-place of literate Muhammadans of Lower Sindh, that the old mosques have a second Mihrab (the prayer arch in a mosque) in the north wall, directing attention to Multan, in addition to the one on the west towards Mecca." This however is a matter for further investigation at least to determine the period of unorthodoxy when mosques were provided with a second mihrab as stated above.

The Arab traveller Masudi who visited the Indus Valley in 915-16 A.D., found Multan in a very flourishing state. Another Arab traveller Ibni-Haukal who visited the country a few years later, relates that the Multan territory was fertile, and its produce cheap, though its fertility was inferior to that of Mansoorah. The Prince of Chinese Pilgrims the illustrious Huen Tsang named Multan Mulosamput.

It once formed a part of Sindh, and in the 12th century A.D. it was a well-known centre of learning and civilization; it is recorded that Prince Muhammad whom his father Sultan Ghiyasuddeen Balban had deputed to rule the province of Lahore and Multan, and a part of Sindh, entertained

considerable regard for poets and saints, and he invited some of them to his court from different directions. Among others, he invited Hazrat Usman Marwandi (Lal Shahbaz of Sehwan), but the latter refused to comply with his request to stay at his headquarters for a long period.

Before the Arab conquest, Multan enjoyed a very high standard of prosperity, and its temples were famous for the wealth of their golden and other costly idols. The Arabs called it "Bait-az-Zahab" بیت الذھب (house of gold), and it was the large treasure of this place, that enabled Hujjah to fulfil his promise of paying into the Khalifa's treasury, double the expenditure entailed by his expedition to Sindh, under his son-in-law Muhammad Bin Qasim in 711 A.D. The total expenditure amounted to 1½ crore rupees, while the proceeds from gold and jewellery etc. secured from the premier temple of Multan, amounted approximately to three crore rupees. Prior to the Arab conquest, Multan was seized by the Chach dynasty of Sindh, in the middle of the 7th century A.D. At the time of Nadirshah's invasion in 1737 the Upper Sindh Frontier territory formed a part of the Suba of Multan.

In modern times, Multan is noted for four things, *viz.* dust, heat, beggars and burial grounds, which a Persian poet has woven in a rhyme as under:—

چار چیز است بهره ملتان
گرد و گرما گدا و گورستان .

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

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